



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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Newsletter

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Enterprises and the Workers Who Fuel Them

A Conversation With Michael Burawoy On His Research In Hungary and Russia

Fall, 1992
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Michael Burawoy teaches in the Department of Sociology. Believing that the most reliable data is gathered through direct observation, he has regularly found work as an unskilled or semi-skilled laborer beginning in Zambia in 1968, where he studied the Africanization of management positions in the copper industry. For the last ten years he has been doing research on economic and political changes in Hungary and the Soviet Union/Russia. Between 1985 and 1988 he worked for a total of ten months in the Lenin Steel Works, the largest steel mill in Hungary. In 1991 he was in Russia for seven months, interviewing managers and working for two months in a furniture factory in Syktyvkar, the capital of Komi Republic in Northern Russia.

*His most recent books are (with János Lukács) *The Radiant Past: Ideology and Reality in Hungary's Road to Capitalism* (University of Chicago Press, 1992); and a book he wrote jointly with ten graduate students, *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis* (UC Press, 1991); which explicates participant observation and his extended case method. He has also published a number of articles on recent changes in the Russian economy. Professor Burawoy will give a bag lunch talk October 28 on "The Uneven Development of Merchant Capitalism: Economic Reforms in the Russian Wood and Coal Industries."*

Anne Hawkins: *Your research method incorporates work as a skilled laborer in factories. What do you gain from this approach that you feel you can't through using more traditional methods?*

Michael Burawoy: Well, I tend to mistrust data gathered through interviews, particularly the survey type with prepackaged answers. They assume you already know what's important. Generally, people say things they wish were true, or that they believe

the interviewer wants to hear. It's simply difficult to interpret people's responses when they are given in a context removed from day-to-day life. Interviews are particularly problematic in Soviet societies, where there was and still is a marked division between the official and the unofficial. Unless they are very open-ended, interviews obscure such nuances. In any event, the choice of methodology is always relative to the questions one is interested in. In Hungary I was interested in the distinctive forms of working-class consciousness and work organization. Since working-class life was one of the best-kept secrets of state socialism, it seemed to me that observation, and preferably participant observation, was the only way to discover anything meaningful.

How did you learn to do skilled labor?

Well, that's a funny thing. I'm unbelievably incompetent at manual work. It's always humiliating to work on the shop floor. I think it probably does me good, a counter to the power I wield as a professor over students. I think those in power should get a sense of what it means to be powerless—it might even make them better teachers. But, you know, it is interesting how people respond to my incompetence. Some look at me with total disgust. That was the case in South Chicago. Others, such as many of my fellow workers in Hungary, take pity on me and try to help. Often, the most interesting and revealing aspects of the research are the ways the people I study react to me. The questions they ask me are often more telling than their answers to my own questions.

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Art in this issue is by Anatoly Bilyukin, from Tales of the Amber Sea: Fairy Tales of the Peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Notes From the Chair

Welcome back to Berkeley for the new academic year. We at the Center look forward to another year of exciting research, training and public education focused on this important region of the world. If you read the *Newsletter* and *Update* carefully, you will be fully informed about the numerous activities scheduled, the distinguished visitors passing through or in residence, and the accomplishments of Center faculty and students. The staff of the Center are here to serve you; please drop by. We look forward to seeing you at our annual reception on October 13, at Alumni House.

The faculty in Slavic and East European Studies at UC Berkeley has for decades been among the best in the world. This year we continue the process of adding to our core faculty. I am happy to welcome Yuri Slezkine (History), Eric Naiman (Slavic Languages and Literatures and Comparative Literature) and Anne Nesbet (Slavic Languages and Literatures). Professor Slezkine received his Ph.D. from the University of Texas in 1989 and, prior to coming to Berkeley, taught at Wake Forest University. He recently completed a book-length manuscript called "The Burden of Backwardness: Russia and the Circumpolar Peoples" and has published related articles. In addition to graduate and undergraduate proseminars, he will be teaching an upper division survey course on the Soviet period. Professors Naiman and Nesbet, products of Berkeley's Ph.D. program, taught at the University of Colorado at Boulder during 1991-92. Professor Naiman's dissertation focused on sexuality and utopianism in the Soviet Union of the 1920s, while Professor Nesbet's examined violence and art in the context of Russian and East German literatures. Professor Nesbet will teach "The Novel in Russia and the West" Fall semester. We are certain that you will be hearing a great deal from these outstanding new additions to Berkeley's faculty.

We are pleased to announce that the Center has expanded its facilities within Stephens Hall. The University has fulfilled a long-standing commitment to allocate additional space to the Center in order to facilitate smooth coordination of its many activities. We now occupy Rooms 262-278 on the ground floor of Stephens, in addition to Rooms 361-370. The offices of the Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, administered by the Center, have been conveniently consolidated on the ground floor, along with a conference room and offices for visiting scholars that are used for both Center and BSP activities.

But every silver lining has a cloud. Because of earthquake reconstruction on campus, Room 442 Stephens, in which most of our bag lunches have been held in the past, has been allocated for classroom use. Accordingly most of

our bag lunches will take place either in our conference room or in other buildings. Please pay careful attention to the room locations on announcements of our events. Old habits die hard! We don't want you to miss anything, and we don't want to miss you!

I want to express a personal "thank you!" to all Associates of the Slavic Center. In this era of budgetary crisis, the Center depends increasingly on private donations to maintain the scope, variety and quality of its programs. Such dependence is certain to grow in coming years. We hope you will continue to be satisfied with our efforts.

—George W. Breslauer
Chair of the Center



Thanks, Everyone!

The Center gratefully acknowledges and sincerely thanks the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, The Associates of the Slavic Center, from March 17, 1992, through September 15, 1992. The Associates' financial support makes possible many additional programs each year and provides ongoing support for programs already in place (* signifies recent gift of continuing membership).

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News From the Berkeley-Stanford Program

Welcome back for the first complete academic year of the post-Soviet era. One of the first steps the Executive Committee of our program took in recognition of the demise of the Soviet Union was to give ourselves the new title of "The Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies." While it is unclear what is in store for Eurasia in the near future, it appears safe to call it "post-Soviet."

On September 3 we were proud to host on campus Evgenii Ambartsumov, the chairman of the International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the Russian Parliament. Chairman Ambartsumov delivered a public lecture on "A New Foreign Policy for Russia" and met with Program students and faculty. Visitors scheduled to come to Berkeley later this semester include Jonathan Haslam, Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Lilia Shevtsova, Aleksander Tsipko and others. For more details of Program activities contact the Program office about receiving our newsletter, *Khronika*.

I am delighted also to announce our visiting scholar for the Fall semester at Berkeley, Victor Zaslavsky. Professor Zaslavsky is on the faculty at St. John's, Newfoundland, and is an internationally renowned specialist on national and ethnic groups in the former Soviet Union. He will be teaching in the Department of Political Science at Berkeley and will also contribute to the Program's research agenda.

And finally we welcome the newest staff member of the Program, Christine Shaff. Christine, a Cal graduate of 1990 who majored in political science, took over as administrative assistant for the Program in August, replacing Kiran Kamboj, who is now beginning law school in New York University.

I look forward to seeing you in our new "digs" on the second floor of Stephens Hall, but I am reluctant to promise as much excitement and change in Eurasia as we witnessed last year!

—Andrew C. Kuchins, Ph.D.
Executive Director
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Some of the shop floors sound dangerous.

Especially when you're pretty clumsy. And when you are nervous and at the same time breaking your back to make the piece rates, then it gets even more dangerous. Just standing on your feet for eight hours can be tiring, and if you lose your concentration, you can also easily lose a finger or two.

Have you been well-accepted as just another worker, even though you're a foreign and temporary one?

In the beginning no one quite believed or understood what I was up to. They didn't exactly expect to find a professor working with them, let alone one from the United States. But over time they got used to me. In Hungary I think I was accepted by my brigade—The October Revolution Brigade. They used to call me "Jackson" as in "Michael Jackson," or "kefir olvasztr" [yogurt furnaceman], because I was so physically weak due to my habit of drinking kefir all the time—"cat food" they called it. This sort of bantering established me as simultaneously an outsider and an insider. I'd go drinking and visiting with their families quite regularly. It was tiring, because the more activities I was involved in, the longer it took to write my field notes and the less time there was to do it in. That was Hungary; in Russia relations were much more brittle.

Do you think people opened up enough to talk without mental editing when you were around?

Well, of course, they would adjust their conversations with me. And at work my mates would often talk to each other as if I wasn't there. The way work was organized bound us all together. We rotated shifts together: three days 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., one day free. Then three days 10 p.m. to 6 a.m., and one day free. Then three days 2

p.m. to 10 p.m., one day free, and so on, with no recognition of weekends or public holidays.

It sounds horrible.

It is. Especially if you've got a family, and you're living in a one-room apartment with your two children and your spouse, who is working a shift system but with a different cycle. Well, you can imagine. I don't know how families hold together. In fact, they don't. You can see why having a little dacha makes such a big difference.

Why do you think it was harder for you to gain acceptance in Russia?

I'm not sure. Hungarians are more used to foreigners; most Hungarians know someone who has a relative in the United States or Canada. Hungary has been a more open society for much longer. I'll be able to answer that better when I've worked in other Russian enterprises.

Do you think that Russian workers may have a lingering fear of reprisals for talking too openly?

No, not reprisals so much. Most people in Komi, for example, had never seen a foreigner, never mind an American, never mind a professor, never mind somebody who came over to work on the shop floor! It was just too much. But interestingly, they tended to treat all outsiders in a similar manner. Any new worker had a difficult time getting accepted.

Was there a difference in the way you were accepted by men and by women in Komi?

With the men I broke through when they invited me to play dominoes during our many breaks. But throughout the two months I was there I never established any sort of relationship with the women. They were a unified group, segregated from the men and in

fact much better organized than the men. They autonomously walked out when management distributed work we had finished to the second shift, which had failed to meet the plan.

Did Russian men have difficulty relating to the women as well?

Well, perhaps difficulty is not the right word. There simply wasn't much communication across gender lines. I was pleasantly surprised by a much more mutually respectful attitude, as compared to the sexism which pervaded the Hungarian shop floor. But the gender division of labor was strict, with women paid less for doing more dangerous work. Curiously, supervisors were often women who had little power and were often made the scapegoat for management and workers. This reflected and reproduced the autonomy of the shop floor.

We argue in the book that to workers the Kadarist past might well look radiant, if not now then in the future.

Have you ever had trouble getting hired?

It hasn't ever been easy to get hired. Apart from political problems, management often hasn't wanted to take responsibility for me. At the Lenin Steel Works, for example, there were often terrible accidents, and management was worried by the prospect of a dead American professor on their hands. But wherever I worked I insisted on the same conditions and pay as my workmates.

Do you hire on as a laborer and bring in your collaborator at a later time?

It varies. In Hungary I used to work for several months at a time, and János Lukács, my collaborator, would come from Budapest when he could. I

prepared lots of questions for him to explore with managers, based on my observations. He was superb at that. He wouldn't sit in their offices but would go round the mill with them, watching how they really worked, asking questions about real problems that cropped up during his visits. The principle was the same, studying real problems in the time and space of the managers themselves. At the end of the day we would share notes and argue about what it all meant. I don't like interviewing managers in general, but I especially try to avoid it when I'm working. There's an obvious conflict of interest, and I can't play both sides.

The workers would clam up if they saw you with the managers?

Right. But even if they didn't see me I'd feel uncomfortable. Still it's very important to get two sides of the picture. More than that, the methodology of the "extended case method" draws attention to the way external forces shape what goes on in micro-situations. When I'm working on the shop floor I'm operating in a very confined space, and I can't find out what's happening upstairs in management or even in other departments. But Lukács could do this with ease.

I should add that in Russia I have often interviewed managers with my collaborator, Pavel Krotov. This method works quite well. As a foreigner I am presumed to know nothing, so I can ask all sorts of naive questions that Krotov as a Russian could never ask. On the other hand, when it comes to going into something in depth, Krotov takes over. The answers we get are less fraught with ideology than if I were doing it alone.

Also, when I began my Russian research with Kathie Hendley [Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science] I barely knew any Russian, so our joint interviews had to be interrupted for her translation. In

those moments we could also discuss where to go next in the interview without the interviewee knowing what we were talking about. In this sort of participatory research one has to learn to exploit one's shortcomings—make a virtue out of necessity!

...we referred to the emerging economy as merchant capitalism, which is to be radically distinguished from modern capitalism.

Do you collaborate on the writing of articles and books?

Yes, but it is hard, particularly with sociologists from the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. We may agree on what we want to say, but *how* we say it depends on the audience. Just as I couldn't write for a Russian or Hungarian audience, so my collaborator would find it difficult to write for an American audience. Take the case of my book with János Lukács. It's entitled *The Radiant Past*. We don't mean that the communist past was radiant, well not exactly. The title comes from the slogan: "Communism is the radiant future of all mankind." Since communism has collapsed it is now the "radiant past."

We ask: what does this "radiant past" look like from the standpoint of workers? We argue in the book that to workers the Kadarist past might well look radiant, if not now then in the future. Now, no self-respecting intellectual in Hungary would dream of writing a book with such a theme, not yet at least. The reasons are obvious. The prevailing wisdom is that there is nothing worth redeeming about the communist past. They have no sympathy for workers, having been dramatically cut off from them and having suffered, moreover, under a regime that conducted its repressive

reign in the name of the working class.

I'm not saying that the book has had a great reception in this country. To the contrary, it swims against the tide, against all the euphoria about the collapse of communism, democratization, free enterprise, markets and so on. But at least it is embedded in a recognizable, legitimate, intellectual tradition.

I'd like to hear your views on the current economic situation in the former Soviet Union. You wrote in 1991 that the collapse, or "withering away," as you put it, of the party-state has allowed the old economic system to come into its own, that even though the political system has changed beyond recognition, the economy has not. Do you still think it presents a much more resistant picture?

Yes, I do. The picture I drew on the basis of the studies of the furniture and rubber factories was designed to combat the prevailing views that a revolution had swept through Russia, that chaos was left in its wake and that all obstacles to the installation of a market economy had been abolished.

So you were arguing against those who exaggerated the capacity of the political to transform the economy?

Exactly. I challenged those who exaggerated the power of the Communist party in the past, and of liberal democracy in the present. This new conventional wisdom overlooked the resilience of the old Soviet economy. When Krotov and I studied the wood industry in Komi as a whole, we saw a deepening of the pathologies of the old order: the strengthening of monopolies, the extension of non-market barter relations between enterprises, and the extension of worker control over the shop floor.

You refer to this as "merchant capitalism."

Indeed, we do. While what we saw can be viewed as continuous with the old order, that is not to say there were no changes. One of the most important was the rising importance of profit in the determination of enterprise strategy. But this profit is pursued through trade—through selling at a higher price than buying—rather than by transforming production, by introducing new technology, new forms of work organization, and so on. So we referred to the emerging economy as merchant capitalism, which is to be radically distinguished from modern capitalism. A transition to modern capitalism would involve turning monopoly into competition, worker control into managerial control and barter into market exchange. Now that *would* be a revolution!

Why do you think so many underestimate the strength of the economy?

Well, as I said earlier, many operate with an overpoliticized conception of the Soviet order, so the collapse of the party means the collapse of the economy. They underestimate the importance of institutional legacies from the Soviet regime. Then, because liberal democracy coexists with a market economy in the West, they think that the two can be installed together in Russia, forgetting that the transition to a market economy is taking place *after* the installation of liberal democracy and not before, as was the case in the West.

They also forget that the installation is taking place at a time when the world is already dominated by powerful capitalist economies. Another reason is that most commentators rely on newspaper accounts emanating from Moscow, or political speeches from the government trying to placate the IMF or G7 countries. They aren't studying the actual social processes that govern the economy. Besides, so many in the West and now in the East just want to believe that the collapse

of communism means the rise of capitalism—that's the Manichean way we have been brought up to view the world.

The picture you paint sounds quite bleak. Do you see any hopeful signs in the increased decentralization, local control or even worker control?

It's not as bleak as the view of some, who see only descent into chaos. Still, I'm not optimistic. But you raise an interesting question about worker control. In the Soviet shortage economy, efficiency depended on workers controlling the shop floor in order to improvise and adapt. They had to deal with unreliable machinery, poor quality supplies that didn't always arrive on time, as well as arbitrary fluctuations in plan targets. As a result, work groups or brigades carry a great deal of tacit skill which could be mobilized in a market economy. This converges with the government's privatization plans, which recognize that there is little alternative to employee buy-outs. Actually, combining worker ownership with worker control over production could foster quite a novel form of economy, though not many are thinking seriously along these lines.

You've been looking at the role of territorial conglomerates or consortia in the new economic climate. What was their role in the old regime, and how has it changed?

The conglomerates are essentially territorial consortia that organize a given industry and defend its interests. But they are now the arena of the most intense struggles. On the one hand, the state has passed legislation to dissolve them, although that has not actually happened. On the other hand, their weakness *vis-a-vis* the state has encouraged enterprises to go "independent" and strike out on their own. Reacting to the strictures of the command economy, many managers

regard "independence" as a panacea to all their problems.

When I returned to Syktyvkar this summer to talk to the directors of the Wood Conglomerate, *Komilesprom*, I found them bemoaning their loss of control over the lumber camps and sawmills. Only a year ago the conglomerate could demand the fulfillment of state orders and buy wood from the lumber camps at much lower prices than its own selling price. But with price liberalization they have lost the power to make such windfall profits through trade.

How are the enterprises you studied doing in this new climate?

I left Polar furniture a very successful enterprise in July of 1991. Apart from my own sterling contributions to hole drilling, the enterprise had a very favorable supply situation. It also had a monopoly in Komi of the production of a very basic commodity—wall systems—to be found in every Russian apartment. Wall systems were as good as gold when it came to bartering. Finally, it also had a very cozy relationship with the conglomerate.

When I returned in July of this year, much to my surprise Polar had managed to weather price liberalization. The director for supplies, a key member of any management team, said that money had assumed new importance and barter was much less significant. But even more surprising to me, they had doubled their output of wall systems, and with the same number of workers.

Have they formed a marketing department?

How did you guess? Last year I scoffed at the idea of a Soviet enterprise with a marketing department. It seemed ridiculous pandering to ideology to have a marketing department in a shortage economy. Last year



and for the previous three years no one knew where the wall systems went. They never appeared in the shops. Now they are available, and the enterprise has even begun to sell wall systems on its premises. Moreover, they're beginning to cater to different markets and income groups. It's amazing. As you walk into the factory, right in front of you is a display with their different products. I couldn't imagine such changes even a year ago.

Did Polar Furniture develop any co-ops, any smaller enterprises within the larger one in the 1980s?

Now that's very interesting. No it didn't. In this regard it was very different from Rezina, the rubber factory I studied with Kathie Hendley. Rezina's complicated supply network stretched all over Russia, and its vast array of different products put it in a state of perpetual crisis. Rezina responded by creating a network of innovative cooperatives and small enterprises. One might conclude that this kind of innovation is more likely to occur in enterprises that suffer most from the economic reforms, and yet they are the ones with the least resources to transform themselves.

Is there much foreign investment anywhere in Russia?

Very little. The political and legal situations are so uncertain, and the economy and its infrastructures so unreliable. It's hard to give foreign investors any meaningful guarantees; as a result, they want immediate returns on their investment. That leads directly to merchant capitalism again. More likely foreign enterprises encourage export. Polar has signed an agreement to sell solid wood bed frames to a Swedish company. Who knows whether they will be able to maintain the required quality but they have at least been able to manufacture satisfactory samples. No doubt the Swedes will get them very cheap and Polar will get some badly needed foreign currency.

It's often easier to export raw materials than finished products, but it's much less profitable. In the coal industry, managers, trade unions, and the conglomerate devote an unseemly amount of time to organizing the export of coal in exchange for consumer durables—videos, televisions, fridges, and the like. Sad to say this sort of barter seems much more prevalent than trying to import technology which might boost

production. Even worse, a lot of money is being stashed away in Western banks as a result of this trade in raw materials. Estimates vary from between five and twenty billion dollars. As one of the vice-presidents of *Komilesprom* lamented, Komi is becoming like a Banana Republic. As I said, this is merchant capitalism.

What are workers feeling about the economic situation?

Workers were skeptical about perestroika from the beginning. Their lives had only gotten worse since it began. Their conception of the future is one of gloom and despair. This summer I couldn't find any workers, even among the Vorkuta miners, who thought their children would live better than they. Russian workers already mourn for the radiant past.

Would you talk briefly about your research in Vorkuta this summer?

You can't go much further north than Vorkuta. It's an arctic city with a population of 200,000, cut out of the frozen tundra, a product of Stalinist labor camps.¹ Some of the most famous political prisoners were held there, including Solzhenitsyn. Its sole reason for existence was, and is, mining the rich deposit of coal. It became particularly important during World War Two, when Russia was cut off from the Ukraine by the Nazi occupation. In 1989 and then again in 1991 it sprouted one of the most militant and radical sectors of the workers' movement. Many of the workers' demands were for a market economy. In fact the strike committee called in Leontiev to advise them. I went to Vorkuta to find out how the market was progressing, and what had happened to those militant miners.

So what did you find?

The workers' movement had subsided and was uncertain about where to go

¹See Kathleen Smith's article, "Soviet 'Memorial': A Former Camp City Remembers," in the Winter 1992 issue of the *Newsletter*.

next. They had, after all, won all their major demands: the Communist party had been dissolved, Gorbachev had been removed, the most repressive forms of labor discipline were lifted, the independent trade union had been officially recognized, and their monthly wages had shot up to the incredible amount of thirty to forty thousand rubles, some ten times the national average. The strike committee had lost much of its support, since the focus for struggle now centered on individual mines, where labor councils or Soviets were demanding control over the distribution of profits and barter. Many of the leaders of the workers' movement had found their way into the commercial structures, into local government and even into party politics in Moscow.

Was it only union leaders who were leaving?

No. Actually many people were at least thinking of leaving. Whether they'd find jobs elsewhere is another story. Unemployment is still relatively low, but inefficient enterprises that can't sell their goods are continuing to produce and to employ workers. That situation may change.

What else was different this summer in Vorkuta?

Seemingly very little. In fact we were constantly assured that nothing had changed. There are effectively no political parties in the city. The strongest was the Democratic Party of Russia with seventy members. The elections of enterprise directors had resulted in a game of musical chairs with directors rotating from one mine to the next.

The Communist party may have dissolved, but the same people were in power. As in Syktyvkar, the most prominent party apparatchiks had seen the writing on the wall long before the August putsch [1991], and had parachuted into lucrative posi-

tions outside the party. August turned out to be a moment to celebrate their exit, declare themselves behind Yeltsin and cut themselves off from the party officials they had left behind. The dissolution of the party left the coal conglomerate as the single most powerful organization in town, but it is overseeing an industry in trouble, particularly if and when the state withdraws its huge subsidies, and coal prices are liberalized.

Are you going back to Russia soon?

Yes, probably in January. Pavel and I want to compare the oil industry, a source of huge export revenues, with the wood and coal industries. Since everyone always complains that I do these odd studies of dying industries, I thought we might tackle banking as well. Banking is interesting in its own right but it also is a good place from which to draw a map of the regional economy. I also want to study military conversion in Nizhny Novgorod, where there are all sorts of interesting things going on. In short, I've learnt to play research by ear. I don't like to have rigid plans for my research. In such an uncertain situation you just take what comes. It's bound to be interesting.

Do you think if you were a graduate student today you'd approach research in the same way? Do you see your method as still the most viable one for you?

Definitely. Although perhaps I'm getting too old for the mines. Perhaps being a bank clerk would suit me better! More to the point, in studying a transition which develops so unevenly, which is saturated with so much mythology, which is historically so unprecedented, and which is governed by a past we only dimly understand, I don't think we can get very far without examining processes first-hand.

You're advocating something very

different from the traditional studies in Sovietology.

Yes, indeed. Gone are the days when scholars had to rely on data doctored for official consumption, on newspapers which were mouthpieces of the party, on the equally biased reporting of émigrés, or on colleagues in the Moscow and St. Petersburg institutes, cut off from their society and forbidden to utter a critical word to a foreigner. For the time being, at least, field research is possible in Russia, and I'm delighted that so many graduate students here in the political science and sociology departments are taking advantage of the opportunity. I'm also encouraged that they are not treating their subjects as part of a narrow area speciality but are looking at these momentous changes with a comparative and conceptual eye.

So you are not optimistic about the future of Russia, but you are optimistic about the future of Russian studies?

Exactly! ☐



Newsletter

of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, University of California at Berkeley.

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The newsletter is published quarterly during the academic year. Please send suggestions, corrections or inquiries to the editor at the above address. Submit mailing address changes to the Center, Attn.: Newsletter Mailing List; or call the Center at 510/642-3230.

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Student News

Fellowship Competition Results

The Center is pleased to announce the results of national and University fellowship competitions in which UC Berkeley graduate students took part. As always, our students did very well indeed. Congratulations to all of you.

1992-93 SSRC/ACLS fellowships:

Dissertation Fellowships for Eastern Europe (administered by ACLS): **Arista Cirtautas** (political science); **Susan Overdorf** (political science); **Carrie Timko** (political science). *Dissertation Fellowships for the Soviet Union and Its Successor States*: **Marc Garcelon** (sociology); **Robert Geraci** (history); **Gavin Helf** (political science); **Benjamin Nathans** (history; Ben also received a joint area and comparative research and training award with professor Genrich Deych [history] ; **Kathleen Smith** (political science). *Graduate Training Fellowships/ Soviet Union and Its Successor States*: **Peter Blitstein** (history); **Theodore Gerber** (sociology); **David Woodruff** (political science).

1992-93 FLAS awards:

Federally funded Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship competitions are announced by the Graduate Division each spring. Contact the Division or the Center in late Fall for information and guidelines on programs in Eastern Europe and the successor states to the Soviet Union. The following students received FLAS awards for 1992-93: *Academic Year Awards*: **Roger Berkowitz** (jurisprudence); **Heather Carlisle** (geography); **Anne Clunan** (political science); **Sarah Cover** (history); **Danusha Goska** (folklore); **Sarah Hepler** (history); **William McKee** (history); **Eric Martinot** (energy and resources); **Mark O'Malley** (geography); **Robert Rendall** (Slavic); **David Rogers** (history). *Summer Language Fellowship Awards for 1992*: **Laura Adams** (sociology); **Roger Berkowitz** (jurisprudence); **Peter Blitstein** (history); **Heather Carlisle** (geography); **Margharita DiCeglie** (Slavic); **Melissa Frazier** (Slavic); **Katherine Gelhar** (Slavic); **Lisa Husmann** (geography); **William McKee** (history); **Susan Overdorf** (political science); **Robert Rendall** (Slavic); **Jeffrey Robins** (political science); **Sarah Shull** (Slavic); **David Woodruff** (political science).

Recipients of the Center's **Mellon Grants for 1992-93** are as follows: *Dissertation Writeup Grants*: **Wales Mack** (political science); **Jason McDonald** (political science); *Language Training Awards*: **Robyn Kliger** (anthropology); **Ellen Rosenbaum** (Slavic); **Richard Wood** (Slavic).

A new award, the **Associates of the Slavic Center Disser-**

tation Award, was given to **Susan Morrissey** (history). Susan is the first student to receive this award.

1992-93 Berkeley-Stanford Program Dissertation and Language Study Fellowships:

Dissertation Awards: **Jane Dawson** (political science); **Diane Doucette** (political science); **Matthew Trail** (political science); **Kathryn Hendley** (political science); **Nils Muiznieks** (political science); **Rudy Sil** (political science). *Graduate Training Awards*: **Corbin Lyday** (political science); **Joel Ostrow** (political science); **Oleg Kharkhordin** (political science). *Summer Research Grants*: **Rob Darst** (political science); **Oleg Kharkhordin** (political science); **Eric Martinot** (energy and resources); **Jeffrey Robins** (political science); **Jeffrey Rossman** (history); **Mark Walker** (political science); **David Woodruff** (political science). *Dissertation Travel Research Grants*: **Marcia Levenson** (geography); **David Woodruff** (political science).

New Faces of 1992-93

We are happy to introduce the following entering graduate students who have expressed interest in Slavic and/or East European studies. We hope that all new students will visit the Center and become familiar with our programs and services. We look forward to meeting you!

Matthew Baerman (Slavic)
Jonathan Barnes (Slavic)
Elzbieta Benson (sociology)
Jennifer Foss (Slavic)
Sarah Hepler (history)
Benjamin Herman (Slavic)
Rajna Klasner (music)
Barbara Lehmbruch (political science)
William Levine (Slavic)
Katherine Malyj (music)
Keally McBride (political science)
Jillian Minkus (Slavic)
Katherine Ogburn (sociology)
Suzanne Popkin (comparative literature)
Corina Stetiu (energy & resources)
Martina Tkadlec (political science)
Lucan Way (political science)
Jennifer Wilder (Slavic)
Matthew Zapruder (Slavic) □

Library Report

I hope that you all had a pleasant summer and are looking forward to the upcoming academic year. If you need assistance in library matters, remember I can be reached in room 346 of the Main Library (right next to the Government Documents Department) or by phone at 642-0956. I also have an electronic mail address: aurbanic@library.berkeley.edu for those of you with a network connection. Annmarie Mitchell, the Polish selector, can also be reached at the above numbers (email: amitchel@library.berkeley.edu).

Much has happened over the summer and you will find many changes in the library concerning both the Slavic collections and library services in general. First let me turn to matters Slavic. The catalog retrospective conversion grant has been renewed for another year. Thus far the staff has upgraded the manual records for several groups of materials. Among them are the X22-X24 collections that were housed on the first tier of the Main Stacks. Records for these volumes are now on GLADIS and Melvyl, the X call numbers have been upgraded to Library of Congress call numbers, and they have been interfiled in the appropriate place in the stack area. The pink cards in the card catalog are no longer valid for location and bibliographic information. In additions all Slavic materials in the branch libraries have been converted as well as most of the PG call number range in the Main Stacks.

Another development which is a rather significant departure from the past is the recataloging of the old Rowell classification range (800's) which was housed on tier 8 and in the Northern Regional Library Facility. The books are being reclassified into the Library of Congress call number system and will be shelved in their appropriate place within the PG classification. Serials shelved under the Rowell numbers will be included in the conversion, especially those serial whose first volumes were shelved as Rowell numbers and whose later volumes were shelved under a Library of Congress number. These are being joined under the Library of Congress classification number so that their shelving will be contiguous. The Library hopes that the shuffling of books and periodicals during this conversion process will not impede your research. If you are having problems locating materials, please let me know.

You have probably noticed, both by the dust and the noise, that the seismic upgrading of the Moffitt Library and the construction of the underground addition is in full swing. The construction schedule calls for the Moffitt Undergraduate Library to be closed for Fall Semester (the good news is that the construction schedule is on time, and the move back to Moffitt should occur in early 1993). This will put an increased burden on the services of the Main Library.

Let me take this opportunity to inform you of some of the changes you will find this semester in the Main Library because of the closing of Moffitt:

- 1) Study space in the Main Library will be quite crowded because of the temporary loss of 1700 spaces in Moffitt. Additional seating space has been made available in the Subject Catalog Hall (floor 2) and in other buildings around campus.
- 2) Catalog terminals and copiers have been brought over from Moffitt to alleviate crowding for these services.
- 3) The XM volumes on Tier 4 have been moved (consult signs in the stacks for their current location). In their place are shelved a portion of the most often-used Moffitt titles. The circulation of these Moffitt titles shelved in the Main Stacks will continue as if they were housed in Moffitt, that is, they will circulate for shorter periods than Main Stack volumes. Books that still remain in Moffitt can be paged. Please consult a Reference Desk for information on this paging procedure.
- 4) The Circulation Desk has been reconfigured to accommodate several Moffitt Services (Reserves, Paging, etc.). Please be aware of the new configuration when choosing a line for a particular circulation services. Invariably the lines will be longer than usual for the duration of the semester because of the increased number of undergraduate users of the Main Library. We urge you to try to conduct your library business at off peak hours.
- 5) All Berkeley dissertations are in the process of being sent to the storage facility in order to free up additional stack shelving. Please be informed that it will now take twenty-four hours to retrieve a dissertation for use.
- 6) Reference Services hours in the Main Library have been extended, and the Reference Room will be opened for Study Hall beginning September 8 beyond those hours during which Reference Service is provided. Please consult a Fall Hours leaflet in the Library or the schedule posted on the GLADIS (the on-line catalog) NEWS HOURS screen.

The Moffitt Staff is issuing periodic brochures updating information on Moffitt services. These brochures are available at service points in the Main Library.

In addition to changes that have occurred due to the temporary Moffitt closure, you will find several other new services. A new data system, INFOCAL, will be available on some Library terminals. This system will contain, among other features, a current schedule of classes and exam groups, and the Berkeley Campus Directory. On these same terminals one will also be able to directly access Socrates, the Stanford University Library on-line catalog.

These are just some of the "adjustments" that have occurred over the summer. I urge you to contact me if you have any questions and to ask for assistance at any Library Information or Reference Desk.

—Allan Urbanic
Slavic Librarian

Fellowships and Other Opportunities

The Joint Committee on Soviet Studies (JCSS), Social Science Research Council (SSRC)/American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) invites applications to its programs.

The Soviet Union and its Successor States

Graduate training fellowships: Applicants should be at least in their third year. The fellowships will extend for 24 months, subject to performance review at the end of the first 12 months. The application deadline is **DECEMBER 1, 1992**.

Dissertation fellowships: Students are provided up to one year of support for the completion of the dissertation. The application deadline is **DECEMBER 1, 1992**.

Postdoctoral fellowships: These awards provide three years of summer support plus one semester free of teaching for scholars who will have defended their dissertations by September 1, 1993, and who are untenured. The application deadline is **DECEMBER 1, 1992**.

Write: JCSS Fellowship Program, c/o SSRC, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158; or call 212/661-0280 for more information. You may also contact the Sponsored Projects Office on campus, 336 Sproul Hall, 415/642-8122.

East European Program

Graduate training fellowships (subject to available funding): These awards are offered to students whose dissertation work will be done at a university or research institute outside Eastern Europe, although brief trips of up

to two months may be supported. Students must have completed two academic years of work toward the doctorate by the beginning of the grant period. The application deadline is **DECEMBER 1, 1992**.

Dissertation fellowships: Students may apply for one or two years of support. These grants are also for work to be completed outside Eastern Europe. The application deadline is **DECEMBER 1, 1992**.

Postdoctoral fellowships: Scholars may apply for periods of at least six months of uninterrupted research on Eastern Europe, with the bulk of the research to be done outside Eastern Europe. Support is available to expand and revise dissertations. The application deadline is **DECEMBER 1, 1992**. Write: JCEE Fellowship Program, c/o American Council of Learned Societies, 228 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017; or contact the Sponsored Projects Office.

International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) deadlines:

Individual advanced research opportunities for US scholars in the states of the former Soviet Union and Mongolia: **NOVEMBER 1, 1992**.

On-site language training, Eastern Europe: **NOVEMBER 1, 1992**.

Slavonic studies seminar in Bulgaria: **NOVEMBER 1, 1992**.

Write IREX, 126 Alexander Street, Princeton, NJ 08540; or call 609/683-9500.

The National Council for Soviet and East European Research

The council invites proposals for research funding for 1993. Applications must be in the form of institutional proposals for research contracts. Write the Council for guidelines and applications at: The National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1755 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Suite 304, Washington, DC 20036; 202/387-0168. The application deadline is **NOVEMBER 1, 1992**.

Fulbright-Hays Training Grant Programs

Doctoral dissertation research abroad: This program supports dissertation research abroad in modern foreign languages and area studies, including research on Eastern Europe and the successor states of the former Soviet Union. Contact U.S. Department of Education, Center for International Education, 400 Maryland Avenue SW, Washington, D.C. 20202-5331; 202/708-9291. The application deadline is **OCTOBER 30, 1992**.

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars/Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies

The Center offers fellowships and grants in the humanities and social sciences for 1993-94. For information on

Wilson Center Fellowships, Kennan Research Scholarships and Kennan Short-Term Grants. Contact the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 370 L'Enfant Promenade, SW, Suite 704, Washington, D.C. 20024; 202/287-3772. Application deadlines (for various programs) are **DECEMBER 1, MARCH 1, JUNE 1, AND SEPTEMBER 1.**

Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace Dissertation fellowships support doctoral candidates doing dissertation research on the sources and nature of violent international conflict, the ways to end or prevent conflict and to sustain peace. Contact: Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, United States Institute of Peace, 1550 M Street NW, Suite 700F, Washington, D.C. 20005-1708; 202/429-3886. The application deadline is **NOVEMBER 15, 1992.**

The Graduate Fellowship Office is located at 318 Sproul Hall; 642-0672. In addition to source books on funding, the office has listings of grant and fellowship opportunities on file. Office hours are Monday-Friday, 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. □



ASC Membership Information

Members (to \$100). Members of ASC regularly receive Newsletter "Updates" and special mailings to be sure they are aware of last-minute events. They will also receive invitations to special "wine and cheese" lecture events, featuring guest speakers from the faculty as well as visiting scholars.

Sponsors (\$100-up). ASC Sponsors will, in addition, be our guests at a special cultural program held during the year. Sponsors also receive a uniquely designed tote bag, promoting Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley. All donors of \$100 or more are listed in Berkeley's Annual Report of Private Giving.

Benefactors (\$500-up). ASC Benefactors will also be our guests at the dinner and evening programs associated with our annual conferences. Invitations will be offered to the annual Benefactors' Meetings. Benefactors will also receive complimentary copies of the books published by the Center on major developments in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Center Circle (\$1,000-up). In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the **Center Circle** will also become Robert Gordon Sproul Associates of the University. As such, they are invited to the Chancel-

Associates of the Slavic Center

Send your check, made payable to the Regents of the University of California, to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, 361 Stephens Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, Attn: ASC.

Name(s) _____

Address _____

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If your employer has a matching gift program, please print name of corporation below.

☐ I have made a contribution but wish to remain anonymous.

It is the policy of the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of California, Berkeley Foundation, that a portion of gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds.

Donations are tax deductible to the extent authorized by law.

lor's annual black tie banquet and to luncheons before the major football games. They also receive membership in the Faculty Club and twenty other worldwide faculty clubs.

(The funds obtained from the annual giving are used to support the program of research, teaching and public outreach which the Center has established through the years).

Please note: The Center is not able to mail fliers and announcements to everyone on our mailing list. Those on the mailing list receive our quarterly newsletter. Associates of the Center do receive update mailings as part of their membership entitlements. Callers will find a recording of the week's events on the Center number, 510/642-3230.



Calendar of Events

Please Note: The Brown Bag Lunch program has a new home! Most of the Slavic Center bag lunches will be held in the beautiful conference room (room 270) of our expanded offices. Construction continues on the elevator in Stephens but is nearing completion. The Berkeley-Stanford Program is now located directly downstairs from the Center in rooms 262-273. On entering the building, you will see the door to rooms 260-273 directly ahead. The Berkeley-Stanford Program entrance is just beyond that door to your left. As you enter the hall the conference room is the first on your right.

Center Current Events and Message Number:

For an up-to-the-minute listing of Slavic Center events, call the Center at 510/642-3230. If Brenda is not at her desk and you wish to find out about an event, stay on the line. After a brief message, you will hear a recorded listing of events for the current week.

Wednesday, October 7

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Yuri Slezkine, associate professor of history, will speak on "The Savage and the Literature of Social Realism." Conference Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

Thursday, October 8

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Tomas Prasek, a former Czech dissident and influential member of the student cadre of the Velvet Revolution, recently served as special assistant to the Czech foreign minister. He will discuss the legacy of the Velvet Revolution and the current political situation in Czechoslovakia. Conference Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

Sunday, October 11

FILMS: Pacific Film Archive continues its series, "Romanov Twilight: Pre-Revolutionary Russian Cinema," which plays through November. Last February, PFA introduced the rediscovered silent films of Evgenii Bauer. The current series includes films by Bauer, as well as by other filmmakers of this lost period. All films are silent, in black and white, with live translation of the Russian intertitles, except where noted. Programs feature Jon Mirsalis or Bruce Loeb on piano. *A Life for a Life (Zhizn' Za Zhizn')*, Bauer, 1916, 48 mins.); *Leon Drey* (Bauer, 1915, 47 mins.); *The Thousand and Second Ruse (Tysyacha Vtoraya Khitrost')*, Bauer, 1915, 14 mins.). Total running time, 109 minutes. Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 4:00 p.m.

Tuesday, October 13

ANNUAL SLAVIC CENTER FALL RECEPTION:

Members of Westwind International Folk Ensemble will perform mini-sets of choral and instrumental music from Eastern Europe; the food and drink will be wonderful as

always. Everyone is welcome and encouraged to join us. Alumni House, campus. 4:00 - 6:00 p.m.

LECTURE: George Kenney, former State Department officer for the Yugoslav region, will discuss "U.S. Foreign Policy in the Yugoslav Region." Co-sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Northern California and the College of Marin. No admission fee. College of Marin, Ormley Hall #96, 835 College Avenue, Kentfield. 12:30 p.m. program.

PANEL DISCUSSION: George Kenney (see above), Tom Peraic, attorney with Murphy, Pearson, Bradley & Feeney; Desa Wakeman, vice president, U.S. Leasing Company; and Besim Velic, vice president and manager, Bank of Leumi Le Israel, will discuss "The Future Prospects of the Yugoslav Region." Sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Northern California. Members \$7, non-members \$12. Reservations are recommended: call 415/434-5112. Ballroom, Nikko Hotel, 222 Mason Street, San Francisco. 5:15 p.m. reception, 5:45 p.m. program.

Wednesday, October 14

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Francis Violich, professor emeritus, Departments of City Planning and Landscape Architecture, will talk about his upcoming publication, "Identity in Urban Dalmatia: Search for the Meaning of Place." Conference Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

Sunday, October 18

FILMS: "Romanov Twilight: Early Russian Cinema." *Little Ellie (Malyutka Elli)*, 1918, Yakov Protazanov, 49 mins.); *The Sorrows of Sarah (Gore Sarry)*, 1913, Aleksandr Arkatov, 15 mins.); *The Queen of Spades (Pikovaya Dama)*, 1916, Yakov Protazanov, 45 mins.). All three films feature the actor, Ivan Mosjoukine, who emigrated to France in the 1920s and made a new career in French cinema. Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 4:00 p.m.

Wednesday, October 21

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Kathleen Smith, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science, will speak on the topic, "Exploring the Soviet Past Through the KGB Archives." Conference Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

LECTURE: Admiral William Pendley, deputy assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, and another speaker TBA, will talk on "National Security: Whose Security and How Much Will It Cost?" Sponsored by the World Affairs Council. Members \$5, non-members \$8. Reservations are recommended: call 415/434-5112. World Affairs Center, 312 Sutter Street, San Francisco. 5:30 p.m. program, 6:30 p.m. reception.

Sunday, October 25

FILM: "Romanov Twilight: Early Russian Cinema."
Satan Triumphant: Parts 1 and 2 (*Satana Likuyushchii*, 1917, Yakov Protazanov, 90 mins.). Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 4:00 p.m.

Wednesday, October 28

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Michael Burawoy, professor in the Department of Sociology, will speak on "The Uneven Development of Merchant Capitalism: Economic Reforms in the Russian Wood and Coal Industries. Conference Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

Sunday, November 1

FILMS: "Romanov Twilight: Early Russian Cinema."
The Lord's Ball (*Bal Gospoden'*, 1918, Vyacheslav Turzhanskii, 32 mins.); *Yurii Nagorny*, 1916, Bauer, 41 mins.). Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 4:00 p.m.

Wednesday, November 4

BROWN BAG LUNCH: To be announced. Please call the Center's current events line after October 15 for speaker and topic.

Sunday, November 8

FILMS: "Romanov Twilight: Early Russian Cinema."
Children of the Age (*Deti Veka*, 1915, Evgenii Bauer, 45 mins.); *Still, Sadness...Still...* (*Molchi, Grust'...Molchi...*, 1918, Petr Chardynin, 50 mins.). Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 4:30 p.m.

Wednesday, November 11

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Fatos Tarifa, associate professor of philosophy at the Faculty of Political Science and Law, University of Tirana, Albania, will speak on "Transition From Totalitarianism to a Pluralistic Democracy in Albania." Conference Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

Thursday, November 12

CONCERT: Slavyanka, the Bay Area Men's Slavic Chorus, performs music of Russia and Eastern Europe. Tickets are \$10. For information, call: 415/978-0105. St. Mark's Lutheran Church, 1111 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco. 8:00 p.m.

Saturday, November 14

CONCERT: Slavyanka, in another concert of Russian and East European music (see Thursday, November 12). Tickets are \$12 general, \$8 seniors and students. For information, call: 415/979-8690. St. Bede's Episcopal Church, 2650 Sand Hill Road, Menlo Park. 8:00 p.m.

Sunday, November 15

FILMS: "Romanov Twilight: Early Russian Cinema."
Jenny the Maid (*Gornichnaya Dzhenni*, 1918, Yakov Protazanov, 60 mins.); *People Die for Metal* (*Lyudi Gibnut Za Metall*, 1919, Aleksandr Volkov, 65 mins.); *The Grandmother of the Russian Revolution* (*Babushka Russkoi Revolyutsii*, 1917, Boris Svetlov, 33 mins.). Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 4:00 p.m.

Wednesday, November 18

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Ilya Vinkovetsky, graduate student in the Department of History, will speak on "Russian America: Colonization in the 18th and 19th Centuries." Conference Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

Sunday, November 22

GALA: The Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Association's annual fundraising gala celebrates Russian culture with performances by the choir of Christ the Saviour Church of San Francisco and Westwind International Folk Ensemble. Tickets are \$10 members, \$12 general admission. For more information, call: 510/339-3492. James Moore Theatre, Oakland Museum, 1000 Oak Street, Oakland. 3:00 p.m.

FILMS: "Romanov Twilight: Bauer, Kuleshov and Mayakovsky." *For Luck* (*Za Schast'em*, 1917, Bauer, 32 mins.); *Engineer Prait's Project* (*Proekt Inzhenera Prait*, 1918, Lev Kuleshov, 18 mins.); *The Young Lady and the Hooligan* (*Barishnya I Khuligan*, 1918, Evgenii Slavinsky, 40 mins.). Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 4:00 p.m.: Bauer, Kuleshov and Mayakovsky."



A Guide to the Center

Center for Slavic and East European Studies

642-3230

Chair: Professor George W. Breslauer	642-3290	Room 366
Executive Director: Dr. Barbara Voytek	643-6736	Room 370
Program Director: Dr. Beth Shepard	642-5245	Room 368
Administrative Assistant: Vail Palomino	642-6270	Room 361-C
Program Assistant: Mary Kay Stuvland	643-6205	Room 361
Editorial Assistant: Anne Hawkins	642-9107	Room 361-A
Fiscal Assistant: Lisa Bryant	643-6782	Room 361-B
Administrative Assistant: Brenda Rizzetto	642-3230	Room 361
Seminar Room		Room 270

Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies

643-6737

Chair: Professor Gail W. Lapidus	643-6737	Room 273
Executive Director: Andy Kuchins	642-6168	Room 271
Program Assistant: Mary Kay Stuvland	643-6205	Room 266
Administrative Assistant: Christine Shaff	643-6737	Room 268



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